

Message Text

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S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 3045

NODIS

FOR THE PRESIDENT, THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY,
AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (NYERERE, JULIUS K.), TZ, US
SUBJECT: NYERERE AND RHODESIA

1. I ASSUME THAT A MAJOR SUBJECT IN YOUR AUGUST 4-5 MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE WILL BE EVOLVING US-UK PROPOSAL FOR RHODESIA. IN MY VIEW, NYERERE'S SUPPORT FOR SUCH A PROPOSAL IS VIRTUALLY ESSENTIAL. HE WILL WANT TO HAVE A CLEAR IDEA, WHEN HE LEAVES WASHINGTON, OF JUST WHERE THE US STANDS, WHAT IT CAN AND CAN'T DO ON RHODESIA; AND THE IMPRESSION HE CARRIES AWAY IS LIKELY TO BE DECISIVE TO HIM FOR SOME TIME TO COME.

2. OUR MOST PROMISING TACTICS IN GAINING HIS SUPPORT WILL BE TO ASK HIS VIEWS AND TALK ABOUT IDEAS RATHER THAN TO PRESENT HIM WITH SPECIFICS FOR HIS REACTIONS. NYERERE IS AT HIS MOST CONSTRUCTIVE WHEN RESPONDING TO A QUESTION AS TO WHAT HE THINKS ABOUT AN IDEA. CONFRONTED WITH A REQUEST TO REACT TO A SET OF SPECIFICS, HE TENDS TO EVADE EITHER AGREEMENT OR DISAPPROVAL. THE BEST WAY TO GET NYERERE BEHIND OUR PROPOSAL FOR RHODESIA IS TO (A) OBTAIN HIS CONCURRENCE THAT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE STALLED AND MUST BE REVIVED AND (B) GET HIS VIEWS ON THE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF A SOLID AND JUST SETTLEMENT AND (C) HAVING CONCURRED WITH THOSE
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HE OFFERS WHICH WE BELIEVE ARE SOUND, ASK HIM WHAT HE THINKS OF ANY OTHERS WHICH WE BELIEVE ARE ESSENTIAL.

3. NYERERE ALREADY HOLDS STRONG VIEWS ON RHODESIA. HE WANTS THE KILLING TO STOP AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE A SOCIALIST, INDEPENDENT RHODESIA ATTUNED TO TANZANIA'S

OUTLOOK, BUT HIS FIRST GOAL IS INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE SMITH OR VORSTER WILL EVER CHANGE THEIR VIEWS ON RHODESIA SO HE DOESN'T FEAR MISSING AN OPPORTUNITY TO GET THEM OVER THE HUMP. HE REACTS SHARPLY TO ANYTHING HE THINKS SMACKS OF A FAIT ACCOMPLI. NYERERE WILL BE FLEXIBLE ON DETAILS OF A PROPOSAL BUT HE IS CONSTITUTIONALLY INCAPABLE OF COMPROMISING ON WHAT HE BELIEVES IS PRINCIPLE, E.G., THE NECESSITY OF A FULL AND COMPLETE RELINQUISHING OF POWER BY SMITH AT THE BEGINNING OF ANY INDEPENDENCE PROCESS. NYERERE ALSO BELIEVES DEEPLY THAT A PEOPLE COMING INTO INDEPENDENCE MUST THEMSELVES WIN THAT INDEPENDENCE AND DECIDE THEIR FORM OF GOVERNMENT. HE HAS NEVER SEEN THE UN AS A MAJOR FACTOR IN A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT.

4. NYERERE HAS COME TO THINK INCREASINGLY OF A US ROLE IN A RHODESIAN SOLUTION. HE LIKES AND TRUSTS THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION. HE HAS ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT US POWER COULD BE DECISIVE ON THE POLITICAL FRONT JUST AS HE FEELS THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE FIGHTING FORCE BY THE NATIONALISTS IS ESSENTIAL TO THE MILITARY FRONT. HE HAS, HOWEVER, ALWAYS BEEN LEERY OF DIRECT US INVOLVEMENT IN DETERMINING SPECIFICS OF THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF AN AREA FOR WHICH IT HAS NEVER HAD DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY. HE STILL CONSIDERS THE MOST USEFUL US ROLE TO BE ONE IN WHICH WE WILL PUSH THE UK TO NECESSARY ACTIONS AS WELL AS SMITH AND VORSTER. HE PROBABLY HAS A SUSPICION THAT THE WEST'S PRESSURE FOR PROMPT ACTION IS DESIGNED TO BRING TO POWER "MODERATE" NATIONALIST LEADERS RATHER THAN THOSE WHOM HE BELIEVES MORE TRULY REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. HE IS NOT

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KEENLY INTERESTED IN THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF ZIMBABWE AND HAS NEVER BEEN COMFORTABLE WITH THE IDEA OF A ZIMBABWE FUND.

5. I BELIEVE WE WILL NEED NYERERE'S SUPPORT IF US-UK PROPOSALS ARE TO SUCCEED. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, AS A SENIOR AFRICAN STATESMAN WITH EXCELLENT REVOLUTIONARY CREDENTIALS, AND AS AN INFLUENTIAL FIGURE IN THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD, NYERERE COMMANDS A HIGH DEGREE OF MORAL AUTHORITY. HE IS WELL PLACED TO ASSIST IN INFLUENCING A WIDE VARIETY OF OPINION IN FAVOR OF A SETTLEMENT PLAN IN WHICH HE BELIEVES.

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